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Images of Indians Held by Non-Indians:

A Review of Current Canadian Research

by

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for

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As usual, the opinions expressed here are those of this writer and do not necessarily represent either those of INAC or of the researchers cited. Blame, if due, accrues to me.

Introduction

In the fall of 1983, it was agreed that a review and analysis of current Canadian research on the images of Indians held by non-Indians would be a useful contribution. There were several considerations that entered into the decision to undertake this work.

We are now at a turning point with respect to the position of Indians in Canadian society. Major changes have occurred since World War II, and the pace of change may be accelerating. The inclusion of "aboriginal peoples" in the Constitution will have far-reaching effects on how the image of the Indian evolves. As well, the various land claims settlements will affect profoundly how the Indian is viewed by other Canadians in the future.

In the past 10 to 15 years, there has been a remarkable increase in the amount of Indian or Native studies research, whether in Indian/non-Indian intergroup relations, history or images of Indians in literature. It has been accompanied by a significant amount of research in connection with land claims. One of the areas covered in this burgeoning field of Indian and Native studies is how the Indian has been and is viewed by the non-Indian, particularly in the context of

evaluating textbooks. As there is no current compilation pulling together Canadian research on images of Indians held by non-Indians, it was agreed to proceed with this report.

Some explanation of terms may be useful to the reader. The term 'image' is understood to include image in its usual meaning as well as attitudes, opinions, perceptions, or stereotypes that contribute to how Indians and the issues that affect them are viewed by those who are not Indians.

'Indians' as used here is understood to include persons of Amerindian ancestry, aboriginal peoples, Native peoples, Métis, status and non-status Indians, treaty Indians and registered Indians. The term 'aboriginal peoples' is not used because of its current inclusion of Inuit as well as Amerindians.¹ Until very recently, most social scientists and others have used the word 'Indian' in the sense in which it is used in this paper. Certainly most of the material reviewed here uses the term 'Indian' in this general fashion, a usage that tends to blur and distort the rich diversity of Indian cultures.

By 'non-Indians', consequently, is meant all who are not in some way identifiable as Indians. A diversity of ethnic backgrounds is represented by this term as well as a

variety of cultural and religious heritages. When the research being analysed differentiates along these lines, it is so specified. The works being reviewed vary in their terminology; some prefer to use "Euro-Canadians", "Whites", or "White men". All these terms have their pros and cons.

It was decided to include primarily published material, whether books, articles or reports. Obviously, one never gets as complete coverage as one would ideally like. Because the major increase in Native studies has occurred relatively recently, the main emphasis is on research done within the past 15 years. With one or two exceptions, the work reviewed deals with what is going on in Canada.

It was agreed that research to be included would come principally from the social sciences and from such applied areas as educational studies and opinion research. An attempt has been made to cover material in both English and French. There is a difference in approach to Indian or Native studies between the Québécois amérindianiste and the anglophone researcher² that has had its effect on the production of 'image studies'. In any event, the coverage of material in French is less complete.

One must not conclude because of the focus of this work and the emergence of a consensus around a rather negative image of Indians that Indians are the only group about whom the 'great Canadian public' has a negative stereotypic view. Stereotyping is, one may say, a kind of behavioural shorthand. What underlies it is a process for classifying and handling a flood of information that produces over-simplified, and therefore necessarily partly false, images. Images may be informed or uninformed, negative or positive. The point to bear in mind is that negative images or stereotypes exist in a multiplicity of contexts: the 'macho male', the 'stingy Scot' and the 'bumbling Englishman' are kinder than the prejudicial images that have led to discrimination in varying degrees against Jews, Armenians, Blacks, Indians and others.

This report is subdivided into sections of varying lengths. All the endnotes are in Part A of Section 11, followed in Part B by a list of works reviewed, consulted and mentioned. In putting together the bibliographical list, ease of access to the material has been a consideration. If, for example, an article appears in both a U.S. professional journal and a Canadian book of readings, both references will be indicated.

SECTION 1

Common Knowledge and Folk Image

Let us begin by looking at what might be called a folk image. It is based on common knowledge -- "Everybody knows that Indians...". This includes the comforting myth that Canada has treated its minority groups, including Indians, better than other countries have done. Stewart's (1983) journalistic demolition of this myth is a good place to start looking at the image as it is even in Canada. His book is more concerned with reporting actions than images, discriminations than prejudices. But actions with respect to Indians are based on an image held by non-Indians that is, by and large, more negative than positive, sometimes libellously false, at other times romantically idealized out of reality into myth.

In another context, Berger carries us a step further:

There is a tendency for us to depreciate native culture. Many white northerners have argued that the native way of life is dying, that what we observe today is a pathetic and diminishing remnant of what existed in the past. The argument arises as much from our attitudes toward native people as from any process of reasoning. We find it hard to believe that anyone would wish to live as native people do in their homes and villages. We show indifference, even contempt,

for the native peoples' defence of their way of life. We tend to idealize those aspects of native culture that we can most easily understand, or that we can appropriate to wear or to place on a shelf in our own homes. We simply do not see native culture as defensible. Many of us do not even see it as a culture at all, but only as a problem to be solved. (1977:93)

What I am trying to get at here is that a stereotypic image of Indians is part of the baggage that even the scholarly researcher brings to his or her work. Nagler, a sociologist, notes that, whether out of ignorance or lack of sympathy:

The majority of Canadians tend to hold what may be called folk images of the Native peoples. These images generally take two contrasting forms, but both view the Indian as the remnant of a population that is fast disappearing. The negative image ...is of a Tonto figure, a heathen warrior who hindered the progress of pioneer expansion, a drunk, a misfit, or a welfare case. The positive image depicts the Native peoples as part of the North American folklore and traditional heritage whose culture and art must be preserved. (1975:8)

Neither Nagler nor Berger cites any evidence; the image is taken for granted.

Emma Laroque (Native Studies, University of Manitoba) attempts to show in her book (1975) the relationship between our common knowledge image and reality and to help us, and particularly teachers, to take the feathers from our eyes.

Why research that image? Because images change, are learned and can be changed. What is being projected as images of Indians and through what channels? Section 2 looks at small community-level images in four studies, and Section 3 discusses more nationally held images as well as those held by particular groups.

SECTION 2

Images of Indians in Small Communities

Braroe's book (1975) and his article (1980) report his participant observation case study of social interaction between Indians and Whites in a small prairie town and nearby reserve.¹ He looks at images that Indians hold of both Whites and themselves and those similarly held by Whites. He spent two summers, first in 1963 and again in 1971, and a year, 1966-67, in the area, a considerable part of it on the reserve. His research method was that of participant observation within a symbolic interactionist perspective.²

Braroe finds that social interaction takes place under conditions that foster "pluralistic ignorance". The lives of Indians and Whites intersect in very limited ways and locations -- for example, at work in the fields, in the less classy bars, in public places such as washrooms, bus stations or post office lobbies. In other words, none of it takes place in daily living or in social visits to each other's homes -- circumstances that would be considerably more conducive to mutual understanding and realistic images.

Both Whites and Indians are observed as trying to project and defend favourable images of themselves, frequently at the implicit, and sometimes explicit, expense of each other. The main image that Whites hold of Indians portrays them as irresponsible, untrustworthy and childishly impulsive.

Mailhot's study (1968) of Inuvik community structure is a good example of a number of descriptive studies of small, isolated northern communities in which non-Indian (or "White") images of Indians are either peripherally discussed or implicit.³ Her findings are based on non-participant observation, key informant interviews and available demographic and other documentation.

She notes that Inuvik residents distinguish "four ethnic groups": White, Eskimo, Indian and Métis.⁴ Persons of mixed White and Eskimo ancestry are considered to be Eskimo, not Métis. It should be noted that the term 'Inuit' was not used 20 years ago in research, and the field work for this study took place in 1965. Persons of mixed Indian and White ancestry are perceived both by others and themselves as Métis: the term 'half-breed' is rejected as derogatory.

Mailhot explicitly but briefly notes the attitudes of Whites toward the three other groups. The least favourable images are of Indians, usually viewed as "...tending to be rather lazy and unreliable workers." Métis are viewed as "mostly outspoken individuals with a lot of initiative and aggressiveness and as the best trappers." (1968:3)

In an article based on his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Hall (1980) looks at the role of images in relation to the economic situation of Indians in a small northern British Columbia town.⁵ He attacks the theoretical argument put forward by a number of social scientists that "the poverty and poverty-related problems that face Native people in Canada arise out of or are at least preceded by negative stereotypes." His field work, mainly participant observation and key informant interviewing, was done in Anahim Lake in the late 1970s and was combined with a review of research relating to the history of the area.

He finds that the suggestion of a direct, causal connection between racist attitudes and Indian poverty is an over-simplification and, at best, inadequate. His research indicates that "in this community Native poverty and poverty-related problems have been brought about by the

complex unfolding of economic processes within a particular legal and historical framework." (1980:180) The negative images held by Whites appear to be more "the result of Native poverty and problems related to poverty."

Last to be looked at here is Stymeist's (1975) book in which he reports his study of ethnic group interrelation between "White Ethnics" and Indians in a northern Ontario town.⁶ The images that non-Indians hold pertaining to Indians are but one factor in that social interaction equation, not the central focus of the research. He used a participant observation approach, spending some 16 months in the community he calls Crow Lake and supplementing this method with some historical and demographic documentation.

Stymeist reports the continuing and consistent image of Indians as "different". They do not live in the town and are, in effect, singled out as the pariah group. Many of the residents of Crow Lake are of varied immigrant backgrounds, and see Indians as poorer than they and less well integrated ("I came with nothing and I made it, why can't they?"). In a very brief section, the stock list of complaints voiced in the bar includes the usual negative images: "Indians are dirty; they smell bad; they are lazy; they won't work... are drunken... live off welfare and they are given too much." (1975:75-76)

SECTION 3

Images of Indians in Public Opinion Surveys and Studies of Attitudes

There have been three major national surveys in Canada that make reference to non-Indians' images of Indians.¹ The study conducted in 1976 by University of Calgary professors Gibbins and Ponting, political scientist and sociologist respectively, is unique in that it focuses entirely on Canadians' reactions to Indians and Indian issues.

The major objective of the Ponting and Gibbins study was to "explore the public's knowledge of Indians and Indian issues, images of Indian peoples, and views toward land claims and other policy issues." (1980:67) A preliminary study was done in Calgary (Gibbins and Ponting, 1976), followed by a national survey, based on a type of stratified random sampling, covering all provinces.² Because of the focus of this report, discussions of findings from the study are limited primarily to those relating to images.³

Responses to an open-ended question about perceived differences between "native Canadian Indians" and other Canadians were classified into 11 categories. In descending order of frequency, respondents mentioned cultural,

educational, and personality differences (for example, laziness, lack of ambition), followed by differences relating to economic opportunities, discrimination, degree of poverty and treatment by government.

Respondents were also asked to name "the main problems faced by Canadian Indians today." Replies were classified into nine categories, including, in descending order, problems of prejudice and discrimination, poverty and unemployment, lack of education, dependence on government assistance, and lack of motivation. The final question relating to perceptions dealt with the public's views of the pros and cons of assimilation as compared to maintaining a traditional life style.

These and other questions were used to construct an "Indian Sympathy Index", an interesting attempt at an overall assessment of the then current climate in which policy relating to Indian affairs was made. The results indicate a normal bell curve distribution, with a tendency more toward sympathy than the lack thereof. (1980:84-87)⁴

Perceptions of Indians were seen to vary by a number of factors. There were regional differences in both perceptions and the Sympathy Index as well as in attitudes

toward issues. For example, Saskatchewan and Alberta respondents "were generally more knowledgeable...but, at the same time, less sympathetic to Indian aims and aspirations." (1980:89) Francophone respondents living in Quebec, while less knowledgeable, tended to be more sympathetic in their attitudes.

Ponting (1984) contrasts the findings from his 1976 study with those obtained by CROP, a Montreal-based public opinion survey firm, in an unpublished public opinion sampling done for Indian and Northern Affairs Canada in 1979.⁵ Most of the questions used by this CROP study were based on those of the 1976 study, and a limited number of comparisons was possible. In the main, the 1979 study findings support those of the 1976 survey. Overall points to be mentioned include the fact that Indian issues are not given high priority by most Canadians, the level of knowledge about Indian affairs is low, and sympathy may be more moral than financial.

In 1974, social psychologists Berry and Kalin of Queen's University and psychologist Taylor of McGill University undertook a national study of attitudes of Canadians toward multiculturalism for the Secretary of State Department. (1977)⁶ Canadians' views about

multiculturalism were measured in several ways, including attitudes toward immigration, ethnic groups and multiculturalism. The part of the study that concerns us here is that dealing with attitudes toward ethnic groups.

The researchers used three techniques to explore attitudes toward ethnic groups.⁷ To determine their visibility, respondents were first asked what ethnic groups they were aware of who had immigrated to Canada within the past several hundred years. The second approach was to place the names of 27 ethnic groups (including "Canadian Indians", "Métis" and "Canadian Eskimos") on cards and to ask respondents to arrange the cards in relation to "myself" or as "belonging together". Third, nine "standard ethnic groups" (including "Canadian Indians") were chosen for detailed study, and respondents were asked to rate these groups on 10 attitudinal dimensions.

Indians were not mentioned in response to the "awareness of ethnic groups" question, probably because of the question phrasing, indicating at least a knowledge that Indians are not immigrant arrivals. In the response to the card-sorting exercise: "What appears to be occurring is that a distinction is being made between charter groups [English Canadians, French Canadians, Québécois] and native

peoples on the one hand, and more recent immigrant groups on the other." (1977:213)

On the 10 dimensions of attitudes, Indians were rated by respondents as above average on the dimensions "Canadian" and "stick together as a group"; about average on "interesting", "likable" and "important"; and well below average on "hardworking", "clean", "similar to me", "wealthy", and "well known to me". (See Table 5.3, 1977:101) As in the previously discussed national survey (Ponting and Gibbins, 1980), there are regional differences in attitudes. Prairie respondents were more inclined to a negative stereotype, while reporting that Indians were more "well known to me", than were respondents in other regions. Relatively few differences, if any, were found between the attitudes toward Canadian Indians held by French Canadians and "Angloceltic" English Canadians.

In summary, this study found that Indians "hold a unique position in the structure of Angloceltic and French-Canadian attitudes" which reflects a distinct ambiguity. "On the one hand they are given special status as Canadians, one which appears to be related to their indigenous presence; but on the other hand they are clearly relegated to the bottom of the ethnic hierarchy."

(1977:214) Based on this study and his other work, Berry concludes that Indians occupy "a dependent position that is largely outside the framework of the larger society."
(1981:218)

The third national study was the Quality of Life Survey, conducted under the aegis of the Social Change in Canada project. It was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and carried out in 1977 by the Institute for Behavioural Research at York University. So far, this writer has been able to locate only one study based on the data collected for this survey that touches on the matter of images of Indians. Filson's (1983) major objective relates to understanding how "class" and ethnicity affect attitudes toward Native rights and immigration. Most of his analysis relates to immigration and focuses on "social class" response.

His findings on attitudes toward putting a greater government effort into "protecting native people's rights" tend to indicate, as did Berry et al. (1977), relatively little difference between French and "British Isles" responses. Filson (1983) also reports a difference in attitude by social class.⁸

The working class and semi-autonomous workers are prepared to put the most effort into protecting native people's rights (56.1 per cent and 54.3 per cent in favour); technocrats are somewhat less interested; foremen-supervisors and the petite bourgeoisie are the least interested (43.4 per cent and 42.0 per cent). (1983:460)

There have been other, less massive, studies that have attempted to get at 'national' images of Indians. In 1976, the Native Council of Canada (NCC) conducted "a pilot study of Canadian public perceptions and attitudes on aboriginal rights and land claims" (1976:ii), using both interviews and a mail questionnaire. The questionnaire, which clearly defines Native peoples as including status and non-status Indians, Métis and Inuit, was mailed to a random selection of 5,000 addresses from the telephone book; about 15 per cent were returned.⁹ The general tone of the responses was more positive than negative. For example, 82 per cent of respondents felt that Native people should have a voice in decision-making in rural and northern areas.¹⁰

About 150 face-to-face unstructured interviews were conducted with a cross-section of interest groups (for example, business associations, labour unions, clubs) as well as with people approached in hotel lobbies and other public places. The NCC summarizes the findings with the caution that the interview reports represent the "personal impressions" of the six people who wrote the reports.¹¹

The results suggest that respondents perceived governments as having been unfair in past dealings with Native peoples and as doing a poor job of administering Native affairs. Governments were criticized for giving too much money to Native peoples, thereby removing an incentive to self-sufficiency. There was general agreement that "Native culture has a place in Canada", and there was more emphasis in the west than in the east on problems of alcohol, unemployment and welfare.

There apparently was another national survey, "Project Canada: a study of Deviance, Diversity and Devotion in Canada", conducted at the University of Lethbridge by sociologist Reginald Bibby. Ponting and Gibbins (1980:70) note that the survey included three questions relating to Indians and Indian issues. These dealt with how respondents viewed (a) the degree of seriousness of the problem of Indian/non-Indian relations; (b) the amount of power that Indians have in national affairs; and (c) the intelligence level of Canadian Indians. The writer has yet to obtain any published reports from this study.

Three early studies of attitudes toward Indians were conducted by Dallyn, a sociologist at the University of Manitoba, and Earle for the Canadian Council of Christians

and Jews, in three Manitoba locations: Portage La Prairie, Selkirk and The Pas (1957, 1959 and 1965). The Pas study is noted here as illustrative of the three. Interviews were conducted in 1961 with a sample base of 10 per cent of houses. Respondents were asked to indicate degrees of agreement or disagreement with a set of 16 statements. The total number of usable replies was 114, and the authors are cautious in their interpretation of the data gathered.

The authors conclude that everyone interviewed exhibited some degree of prejudice and that there was a rather general desire to "help the Indian", as long as it did not mean direct personal or social involvement. More specifically, it was found that Indians are at a disadvantage in several work-related areas (for example, respondent wouldn't hire for various stereotypic reasons); that the degree of prejudice appears to vary by the ethnic background of the respondent but not by religious affiliation or lack thereof; that increased contact appears to be related in some way to a lesser degree of prejudice; and that there appears to be a greater tendency to prejudice and negative stereotyping in The Pas than in either of the other two cities studied.

The other three studies to be looked at in this section relate to smaller groups of people. Gascon (1981)¹² reported on a small study conducted in 1972 using the drawings of 22 middle class francophone Québécois children between the ages of 7 and 9. The drawings were done to illustrate a class project on Indians. Gascon concluded that the children perceived their drawing task as a test of their aptitude in producing stereotypes. Apparently these children had already absorbed an image of the Indian as purely symbolic, a rather disquieting image, separate from reality and creativity.

The objective of Maranda's study of the semigenesis¹³ of the image of the Amerindian is "to map out the semantic associative processes" (1981:52) by which images of Indians held by young university students are built up. He uses, on his sample of 70 first-year francophone students, two tests of this process: the TAL (test d'association libre/word-association test) and the TAN (test d'association narrative/plot-association test). Words elicited in response to the three TAL stimuli -- Indian, Canadian, Quebecker (Indien, Canadien, Québécois) -- were classified into 43 descriptive categories (for example, leggings into clothing) which in turn were subsumed under one of 10 general categories or domaines.

Associative constellations built up around the word Indian centred on the general areas of ecology, situation (politiques) and social structure. More specifically, descriptive categories appearing most frequently included minorities, nature, hunting and fishing, geographic references (including James Bay), appearances, and mythology. Analysis of the TAN revealed several themes, including the Indian in harmony with nature and together with Quebeckers as colonized peoples.

In her preliminary study, Normand (1981) sought to determine the image of the Indian in the imagination of primary school children.¹⁴ Her sample of 82 boys and girls in grades 4 and 6 was drawn from two schools, one at Quebec (the south) and one at Mingan (the north). Following Maranda (1981), she used the TAL-TAN method. She found that there is a marked difference in the imagined Indian between northern and southern children.¹⁵ In the southern cases, the children's image tends toward a comic strip/western movie one with feathers, tents and arrows, while northern sample children, who interact regularly with Indians, have a less stereotypic image. She finds, as does Vincent (1979), that proximity to actual Indians has an effect on images held.

In this Section, I have discussed some of the findings from studies of current images.¹⁶ Nationally, as well as in more localized settings, an image prevails of the Indian as different and outside the mainstream of the public's life. There is also a certain level of sympathy for Indians and Indian issues. By and large, however, the public's image of Indians is stereotyped and unencumbered by any real depth of factual knowledge. In Section 4, we look at the images that have prevailed historically among Canadians or have been purveyed by historians.

SECTION 4

Images of Indians in History

All the research discussed in this Section is by professional historians who are, in practice, specialists in Indian history.¹ They are not the only historians who have analysed and studied non-Indian (European) images of Indians. The remarkable increase in attention being given to Indian/non-Indian relations in Canada's history and to images as an aspect of them makes it impractical to consider a more complete coverage here.²

Attitudes toward Amerindian people and images of Indians did not arise suddenly with the arrival in 1492 of an off-course explorer. In her article discussing the concept of "l'homme sauvage", Dickason (1977) examines its origins in Europe.³ She notes that, contrary to popular belief, the idea of the "wild man" or "l'homme sauvage" did not begin with the Amerindian. This folk image was prevalent in Europe considerably before the European exploration of the Americas. The first recorded "theatrical play featuring a wild man dates back to 1208 in Padua", (1977:17) and "l'homme sauvage" appeared "in grotesques decorating manuscript margins from the mid-thirteenth

century on."⁴ (1977:27) The "home" of l'homme sauvage was most often considered to be the Orient.

Those who explored the Americas and those to whom they reported back were undoubtedly familiar with the popular image of the "wild man". Thus, "with the emergence of Amerindians within the European range of vision, it was a comparatively simple matter to fit them into existing perspectives, particularly as there seemed to be resemblances between the two 'savage' peoples, from the old world and the new." (1977:26) In her book, Dickason (1984) explores more fully the use of the concept in the colonization of New France.

Jaenen, an historian who has written extensively on Indian/European relations in New France and the early days of Quebec, continues the discussion. He examines (1982) the role of pre-existing cultural perceptions in forming the images held by Europeans in the eighteenth century. He finds that traditional conceptual frameworks acted as filters through which the actuality of the lives of Lower Canada's Indians were strained, with a resultant distortion of image away from reality. This was further complicated by the fact that descriptions of life in the new world, glowingly depicted by writers who had never left the shores

of the old world, were sometimes used "simply to criticize in indirect fashion both church and state, European man and European institutions."⁵ (1982:45)

Smith (1974)⁶ describes the way in which "le sauvage" has been depicted by French Canadian historians writing about the "heroic period" of New France.⁷ His main finding is that, in glorifying the "heroic origins of Quebec", French Canadian historians tend to cast the Indian in the role of villain. Inasmuch as eighteenth-century writers relied on the Jesuit Relations for their data, he finds it unsurprising that there is a conflicting image of the Indian projected; both as noble, virtuous and uncontaminated by European vices and as cruel, unclean and given to barbarous atrocities. The nineteenth-century historian tended to omit the more positive aspects and to concentrate on the immorality, cruelty and ingratitude of those too inferior to grasp the Christian message. In a manner similar to the use of the concept of the noble savage, late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century French Canadian historians writing about this period used the Indian as a symbol of "all the vices of the bad French Canadian" (1974:101) to criticize current trends in Quebec society that violated traditional values.

An example of another type of approach is provided by Fisher. (1977:73-94) He analyses the image of the Indian between 1774 and 1890 as an aspect of Indian/non-Indian relations in British Columbia. Early European coastal explorers laid the foundations for "layers of misunderstanding" with their unskilled and often uninterested reporting, some remarking that descriptions of such a state of savagery would interest no one. Language was an effective barrier, and the descriptions that were reported tended to focus on observable, physical differences and on unfavourable comparisons of the "primitive" Indian with the "civilized" European.

The early fur traders had a more positive image than that held by the settlers arriving several decades later in 1850-1860. This is related in part to differing interests, those of fur traders coinciding with those of the Indian, at least in so far as trading was concerned. The settler tended to view the Indian as a hostile savage, hindering access to coveted land. Noting that the relationship between image and behaviour is a complex one, with attitudes being both a cause and an effect of action, Fisher suggests that changing attitudes back in Britain may have influenced this difference. The earlier arrivals came during a period that culminated with anti-slavery legislation and the Select

Committee on Aborigines, while the settlers' attitudes may have been affected by the shock of actions such as the Indian Mutiny and Maori-European land wars.

In an example of a more specifically focused historical study, Steinfeld (1980) explores the attitudes of the North West Mounted Police (NWMP) toward Indians between 1874 and 1900. He finds that their attitudes were both negative and positive, and that attitudes expressed in NWMP reports or journals varied by individual writer and possibly by rank. Some tribes were subject to more favourable attitudes than others, with rather less recognition of individual variations within tribes.⁸ He argues that NWMP attitudes toward law and order were accompanied by fairer attitudes toward Indians, despite being caught in a conflict of interest between their mandate to keep the peace for Indians and settlers alike.

Walker (1971) examines the place Canadian historians have given the Indian in their writings, surveying and analysing a sample of 88 titles by 74 authors. These were selected on the basis of frequency of appearance on undergraduate bibliographies for Canadian history courses at Canadian universities; they include general, regional and specialized histories in both official languages with

publication dates ranging from 1829 to 1970. He divides his findings into four sections: the image of the Indian; the role assigned to him; some suggestions as to the reasons for the image and role; and, finally, whether "treatment of Indians varies according to the historian's language ... time of writing or the major emphasis of his book." (1971:21)

He finds that "the picture of the Indian as a human being ... is confusing, contradictory and incomplete ... not often considered to be deserving of serious attention, or his society of scholarly analysis." (1971:21) The image is adorned with many scathing and negative adjectives (virtually a string of invective) and, less often, with more positive adjectives such as "hospitable", "devoted" or even a "copper-hued patriot" if on the "right" side during a war. Few historians, if any, make an effort to place Indian warfare in context, and their military tactics, even when successful, are compared unfavourably with European ones. Pre-conquest Indian life is pictured as "simple, honest and free" and its citizens as "noble savages", somehow less "advanced", more primitive and thereby inferior. The picture of Indian society is confused further by the failure of many of these historians to distinguish one tribe from another.

In his 1971 essay, Walker lays the foundations for his examination of Canadian historical writing between 1972 and 1982. (1983)⁹ This 10-year period saw a remarkable increase in both the amount and quality of specialized research and writing about the Indian and his role historically and in current Canadian society. He notes that this richness in Native studies is both scholarly and otherwise, and occurs not only among historians but in other social sciences as well. Such a situation bespeaks the emergence of a very different perception of the Indian and of his importance in the Canadian scheme of things.

Against this notable increase in available material, Walker assesses the performance of general Canadian history texts published since 1971. The expectation of finding "a new and more complete image of the Indian in our [university] textbooks" has not been fully met. There was progress during the 1970s, and descriptions of Indians and their activities were more sensitive and balanced. However, measured in column inches of print, coverage of Indians has declined, and "Indians are still being presented as peripheral to 'real' Canadian history", except as affairs of Indians interfere or collide "with the progress of white society." (1983:349)

Walker contends that a major barrier in the path of better coverage of Native affairs is the existence of "a fixed set of themes in Canadian historiography [which] effectively excludes the Indian from any meaningful place in Canadian history." (1983:350) These traditionally accepted themes, perhaps more in accord with an earlier, less pluralistic image of Canadian society, are certainly based on an image of the Indian that does not dignify him or Native affairs with much importance.

Others have also been concerned with how to include "Indian history" in Canadian history texts. Use of the dominant images of Indians historically is suggested by Surtees (1977) as a possible approach to placing Indians in historical perspective. He finds that a factor of major importance in determining the nature of the accommodation between Indians and Whites was "the views of Indians held by Europeans ... either in Canada or in Europe." (1977:113) As a generalization, he suggests "that there has been a progression of images in the history of Canada from the noble savage (1535-1650), to the warrior (1650-1830), to social nuisance (1830-1950), to the litigant and radical (1950 to date)." (1977:133)

Two points are important from the perspective of this study. First, as both Surtees and Fisher note, is the recognition by current historians of the complex and perhaps powerful effect of images, of ideas over facts, in the complexity of Indian/non-Indian interrelations. The second point is the evidence that an increasing number of historians perceive Indians and their affairs to be important.

SECTION 5

Images of Indians in Literature and Magazines

In this Section, research on the images of Indians in literature is discussed briefly.¹ The major study that looks at the image of Indians in Canadian English-language literature is that of Monkman. (1981)² He covers works from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, grouping these by theme: Indian Antagonists, Indian Alternatives, Death of the Indian, Indian Heroes, and Indian Myths and Legends. He then analyses how the writers, whether poets, novelists, or others, have handled these themes, each in his or her own fashion. Overall, Monkman concludes that, while cultural boundaries have not yet been transcended, there has been "a continuing movement of the Indian and his culture from a role in which he is simply a sterotype against whom the white man can assert the values of his own culture to a status in which his [the Indian's] history and culture are guides to concerns common to all cultures." (1981:161)

Several other references dealing with Canadian English-language literature have been noted in passing. They include Hirano (1962), and theses and dissertations of Dagg (n.d.), Downey (1974), Fisher (1973), Hall (1970), and Retzleff (1981).³

The only French-language materials located to date are those by Vanasse (1980) and Chartrand (1980). Neither of these short réflexions is properly a research study. Vanasse states that, to his knowledge, no research on the Amerindian in Québécois novels has been undertaken to date. He believes it would be an area worthy of study. In her brief article, Chartrand discusses Indians as a theme in nineteenth-century French-language poetry, noting the use of the Indian and his culture and mores as symbols against which the poet sharpens his or her own identity. She foresees this as a diminishing trend in Québécois poetry.

Research on the images of Indians in magazines appears to be limited. One study has been found dealing with these images in English-language magazines; none in French. Haycock, an historian at the University of Waterloo, looks at the images of Indians as presented by writers of articles in popular national, English-language magazines over the period 1900-1970. (1971) He examined over 30 magazines in all, having to include in the earlier years some that, although not Canadian in origin, were what Canadians were reading.⁴

He analyses those articles, stories or essays having Indians as a central focus into three theme periods:

1900-1930, "The Poor Doomed Savage"; 1930-1960, "Humanitarian Awareness and Guilt"; and 1960-1970, "The Struggle for Equality and Civil Rights". Other more specific trends are also noted: religious articles, prominent between 1900 and 1930, declining as "converting the heathen" drops in priority; and attention to contemporary affairs, increasing to 1960-1970, when an emphasis on rights and improved conditions for Indians emerges. This trend appears to be continuing in the 1980s with an increasing focus on Indians speaking on their own behalf. (Cooke, 1984)

SECTION 6

Images of Indians in Newspapers

Newspapers are generally regarded as disseminators of images as well as news. In this Section, five studies of how Indians or Native people are portrayed in daily newspapers or sections of them are considered.¹

In a short research note, Singer (1982) reports on his study of coverage of Native Canadians in an Ontario daily newspaper during the period 1971-1975. His findings are based on a 20-per cent sample (52 weeks out of 5 years) of news, feature articles, editorials and selected columns in terms of their mention of Indians or Eskimos. His analysis excludes advertising, sports, women's, consumer and complaints columns, comics and financial sections.

He finds that articles or other items that mention Indians appear on an average of once a day. Thus, the reader's opportunity for "symbolic contact" with Indians is greater than his chances of meeting them in everyday living. The image of the Indian in the news focuses on relationships with government and land claims, followed by a secondary image of involvement in conflict or deviance.

A rather more intensive study was undertaken by Sim in 1977 to explore newspaper coverage of the Indian situation and images of Indians projected by this medium. A 15-per cent sample of items to be analysed was drawn from the articles occurring in the daily newspaper clippings provided by a clipping service to Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, supplemented by the addition of coverage in certain regional newspapers. This study was replicated by Vogan in 1978. Both studies used a type of content analysis methodology based on a review of other communications research.²

Sim found that the largest block of coverage went to land claims, at least partially in terms of Indians blocking "progress" and pipelines. Or put another way, the interests of non-Indians tend to be more newsworthy. The major spokespersons for Indians tended to be non-Indians. For example, Warren Allmand, then Minister of Indian Affairs, was highlighted, and interpretations of the Indian situation tended to come from representatives of non-Indian organizations. Indian protagonists who do not fit the stereotyped mould are beginning to appear, however, and issues in which Indians are involved are tending to be wider in scope.

In her follow-up study, Vogan (1979) found that the majority of issues appearing in daily newspapers tended to be legal/political. Slightly more spokespersons for Indians are now Indians themselves, primarily as representatives of Indian organizations or associations. There was a marked increase in the proportion of Indian organizations quoted as sources of news items in relation to non-Indian sources. The tendency away from a stereotypic image appears to be continuing.

Hatt (1976) reports briefly on images of Métis found in letters to the editor (LEDs) appearing in the Edmonton Journal in 1971-1972 that were analysed as part of a larger study relating to the Métis. There is an overall image of "problem" in connection with Métis in these LEDs. Most LEDs relating to problems apportioned "blame", either to Native people or to Whites, and the "cures" proposed were about evenly divided between (a) Native people should perform better, and (b) Whites should be more understanding.

Following a complaint to the Press Council of Quebec in 1978 concerning the treatment of Indians in certain hunting and fishing columns in daily newspapers, the Quebec Human Rights Commission undertook a study to determine if the images conveyed in these columns were prejudicial to

Indians. As part of the overall study, Vincent (1979) analysed the images of Indians in French-language hunting and fishing sports columns in four major dailies and one magazine.³ These columns were analysed as a whole and, while they represent mainly the opinions of the columnists, they are also deemed to reflect, to some degree, the perceptions of their readers.⁴

Vincent finds that Indians have a rather contradictory multiple image both as different and as not different, that they should conform and do not. They are seen as just like any other Quebecker: subject to the same laws, not needing to hunt for subsistence; but at the same time different, enjoying certain privileges, expensively squandering "our" (the sportsmen's) patrimony, not respecting laws, and making excessive demands for land. There is also the image of the individual Indian who is a good guide, useful to the sportsman and smiling while he serves. Very occasionally, there is a perception of the Indian as a victim of pollution (mercury poisoning) or of exploitation by Whites.

In the next Section, another, and very important, purveyor of images is examined. By law, school attendance is compulsory, and virtually all children are exposed to textbooks in primary and secondary school. What images of Indians are being taught to our children?

SECTION 7

Images of Indians in School Textbooks

In this Section, attention is given to research on images of Indians in materials used as teaching/learning resources for social studies in primary and secondary schools.¹ The impetus for such research arises out of concern for what children are absorbing in their formative years in the context of increased attention to human rights following World War II and complaints from Indians themselves protesting the shabby and offensive treatment given in school textbooks to Native peoples. Sluman (1966) takes a brief look at why these complaints arose and illustrates some of the objectionable passages found in school texts used in Manitoba and Ontario at that time.

In 1968, the University Women's Club of Port Credit examined material approved by Ontario for use in grades 1 to 8. (Vanderburgh, 1968)² The materials reviewed were judged to be rather inadequate, with the least coverage given to the current situation of Indians. Serious omissions respecting the cultural areas of religion, values and ethics were noted, as well as less than adequate attention to "the original social and political organization of the various Indian groups." (1968:18)

Research into high school history or other social studies textbooks done with other major objectives in mind may incidentally provide some material on the images of Indians being conveyed. For example, in tracing how British Columbia textbooks from 1872 to 1925 have reflected changing views of religion and morality popularly approved by the dominant societal group, Brummelen notes: "The view that students were given of Canada's Native people was, generally speaking, a negative one ... [asserting] the superiority of white civilization." (1983:21-22) There may be a number of such studies, but no attempt has been made to check them exhaustively on the assumption that the findings with respect to the image of the Indian historically is likely to remain consistent with findings already noted.

In his study of social studies textbooks used in Alberta since 1905, Lupul (1976) examines the portrayal of Canada's "other" peoples (that is, minority or ethnic groups who are neither "French" nor "Anglo-Celtic").³ Generally his findings are consistent with those of Walker (1971) and others, although he gives as his opinion that "Amerinds" have received adequate treatment in more recent texts. His major concern is what he views as the inadequate treatment of "others", such as Icelanders, Ukrainians, Swiss, Dutch, Bulgars, Chinese and other "others".

In co-operation with the Ontario Human Rights Commission, McDiarmid and Pratt, at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, conducted a study to analyse the incidence of prejudice against minority groups to be found in social studies textbooks authorized for use in Ontario schools. (1971) This study is perhaps the most important in terms of developing a systematic objective methodology.⁴ Over 200 texts were analysed with respect to the images of 6 minority groups; "Christians" were used as a control group.

Findings indicated that Indians, in company with Blacks, had the least favourable image. Stereotypes already noted were present, and in an analysis of pictorial stereotypes, Indians were the least favoured, being portrayed as primitive and "not infrequently ... as aggressive and hostile as well." (1971:51) None was shown in professional occupations, and 85 per cent of the illustrations included Indians adorned with feathers. One of the issues examined was "Canadian Indians Today". In textbooks that might reasonably be expected to include this issue, 78 per cent omitted any reference, and its presentation in the other 22 per cent was rated as poor.

In the summer of 1973, the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission (1974) undertook a study of prejudice in Saskatchewan social studies textbooks, looking at the

portrayal of 9 minority groups, including Indians.⁵ A sample of 60 textbooks was selected on the basis of frequency of use, and an adaptation of McDiarmid and Pratt's methodology formed the basis for analysis.⁶ Findings are based on an analysis of evaluative terms and of issues/protocol ratings.

Although Indians were the group most frequently referred to, their image on Evaluative Coefficient Analysis (ECO) scores was the least favourable of any of the nine groups. The usual stereotypes are noted in this study. As well, the authors note that: "The treatment of Indians would have been even more unfavourable if we had not amalgamated assertions made about North and South American Indians"; the latter, including Aztecs and Incas, had a more burnished image. The issue reported was "pre-colonial Indian culture (Cree)" which was rated as poorly handled in all textbooks.

Out of an increasing concern about the effects on Native children of the derogatory image conveyed in school textbooks, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood (MIB) undertook a textbook evaluation in 1973-74. Seen as part of a larger review, the MIB's study (1974) examined the image of Indians in eight social studies textbooks and seven supplementary pamphlets approved for use in grade 6 by Manitoba, using an

adaptation of ECO as a technique of content analysis.⁷ The researchers were also directed by the MIB to make specific recommendations for improving the derogatory passages noted.

Their general finding was that "the main failure of the textbooks under review is their tendency to treat the Native as an impediment to be removed so that the goals of European 'progress' can be realized ...", and once that is dealt with, textbooks ignore the later history of Native peoples. (1974:iii) All the textbooks being used were written before 1970 and contained the usual stereotyped and negative images of Indians.

In her sociology thesis, Ofner (1982) examines the images of Indians in 65 history and social studies textbooks approved for use in Ontario schools over the period 1857-1980. She used a content analysis approach, based primarily on McDiarmid and Pratt,⁸ to determine whether there had been a change in the portrayal of Indians and Indian issues over the period.

She finds, as have others previously mentioned, an image in "over one hundred years of textbooks" of Indians as "savage", "heathen", and "uncivilized killers". (1982:107) There appears to be a change toward a more positive

portrayal in textbooks written after 1970. The proportion in which the image is positive rose from a low of 5 per cent in the 1931-1940 period to a high of 28 per cent in the 1970-1980 period. Even if we assume a desirable balance of 50/50, there appears to be considerable room for improvement.⁹

In their book on images of Indians in textbooks authorized for use in Quebec schools, Vincent and Arcand (1979) used a method of analysis that approximates that used by Vincent (1979), mentioned in the previous Section. References to Indians in 23 history textbooks were placed on cards and sorted into about 50 categories; these in turn were grouped under 9 themes, based on the judgement of the researchers. They used this approach in preference to an analysis along the lines of McDiarmid, Pratt and others because they were concerned with looking at the ideology behind the linguistic front.¹⁰

In summary, they found that these textbooks conveyed a general image of Indians as hostile and cruel savages while simultaneously, but more faintly, as hospitable, sharing their knowledge of the countryside with the new arrivals and, occasionally, as good allies. There is also an image of a naive people, manipulated and dominated by the European colonizers and missionaries and victims of exploitation.

Their culture, although seldom mentioned, is characterized as having imperfect languages and technologies, and their religion and knowledge are ignored or denigrated. As well, there is an image of the primitive, close to nature, whose society lacks law and order. Métis are mentioned only as francophones adrift in an English Canadian prairie, their Indian heritage ignored.¹¹

In addition to their comments on the Boréal Express in their book (Vincent and Arcand, 1979), Arcand and Vincent (1979) reviewed the image of the Indian conveyed by this historical manual for school children, presented in the form of a comic strip. They examined the humorous presentation of the trials and tribulations of a little Indian named Pee Wee to determine the image created and find a message. The message suggested that a desirable change is away from the "ineffective Amerindian", at whom one laughs, toward an Indian better for having left his culture behind, at whom one no longer laughs.

The last research study to be looked at in this Section is that of Decore and colleagues (1981) which evaluated about 250 textbooks and teaching/learning materials authorized for use in Alberta schools. In the summer of 1981, a team of 6 researchers undertook to assess the way in which Native people and Native-related issues were

portrayed. Their method was that of the judgement of a panel of experts using 4 broad categories for evaluation: (a) factual validity; (b) adequacy of coverage, given the general topic; (c) presence of stereotyping; and (d) interpretive bias. (1982:1)¹² Each text or other learning material was assessed and then rated as to degree of acceptability.

The study's findings are discussed under various headings, including errors of fact, attribution and implication, and stereotyping, the major purpose being to rate the textbooks reviewed. The authors found that stereotyping constitutes a serious problem, with images of Indians being on the whole negative. They also offered suggestions for dealing with this problem, including dropping the particularly offensive materials from the curriculum.

In this Section, studies analysing textbooks used in six provinces (Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, and Saskatchewan) were reviewed. The images of Indians presented in these textbooks have generally been negative, stereotyped and even factually inaccurate. There is a tendency, however, for recently written textbooks to present a more positive and realistic image. In the next Section, we look at the images that movies and television project about Indians for both children and adults to absorb.

SECTION 8

Images of Indians in Movies and Television

Stereotypes, fantasy and make-believe are the stock-in-trade of the motion picture industry, whose product is meant to entertain.

We cannot dismiss the stereotypes as unimportant film portrayals because hundreds of millions of people the world over have acquired their beliefs about North American Indians through motion pictures. The belief that there is an essence of general truth about Indians in these portrayals is pervasive and persistent. (Price, 1973:154)

As the Friars (1972) so aptly put it, this stereotypic image of Indians becomes "the Hollywood gospel".

Because the Hollywood product is by and large what Canadians watch, two American works are included here. They are important as context and backdrop for the little Canadian research found and because, as Berton (1975) points out, the Hollywood Canadian Indian is indistinguishable from the Hollywood American Indian.¹

The Friars' main objective is to expose Hollywood's "cultural genocide". Their book (1972) covers Hollywood films, on a selective basis, from the very early

pre-Hollywood period (1898-1908) until 1971. This is an impressionistic, normative account, done in quasi-film scenario style ("Cut to montage of ..."). It is a telling exposé, focusing directly on the changing but continually stereotyped image of the Indian.² They provide an extensive list of films about or including Indians, indicating release dates and classifying them under headings such as "Indians in the title", "Indians vs. Settlers", "Cowboys and Indians", and "Attack on Wagon Train". (1972:287-323) Whites playing Indian roles as stars and in supporting or character parts are also listed. (1972:281-283) The main points made in the book are also covered in a short article by Friar and Friar. (1980)

Their initial overall assessment of the situation is that Hollywood "has continued to perpetuate the myth [of a "free nation" as the laudable creation of Americans of European ancestry] by creating either 1) the noble red man or 2) a vicious savage, both of whom deny the white man his proper Christian right to this continent." (1972:2)

The major findings may be summarized as follows:

- 1) The origins of the mythical and the negatively stereotyped image of the Hollywood Indian lie in the 'dime novel' of the nineteenth century.

- 2) Cultural and ethnographic inaccuracies are legion. Cultural diversity is obliterated, and white actors are transformed into "members of the Tribe" with Hollywood's special "Instant Indian Kit" of stock costumes combining feathers, leather leggings and beaded head bands holding pigtailed black wigs in place.³
- 3) Prior to 1950, during both the silent and the western (wagons in a circle) eras, historical facts were massacred along with Indians.
- 4) Starting in about 1950, Hollywood began producing films with a more sympathetic, although still stereotyped, image of the Indian as "misunderstood and mistreated".
- 5) Friar and Friar foresee the coming of a new stereotype, that of the "real" Indian, introduced by such films as "Tell Them Willie Boy is Here" and "A Man Called Horse".

Price, an anthropologist at York University, reviewed the history of stereotyping of Indians in motion pictures. (1973) With a broad impressionistic brush, he sketched the successive stages of the American motion picture industry's

"ethnic stereotype" about American Indians. The first 20 or so years (1908-1929) of the film industry saw the development of an essentially negative image. This was intensified during the period 1930-1947, with extremely negative stereotypes characterizing the serials and the grade-B westerns, with a "gradual elimination" of negative stereotypes, a process "begun during World War II when the Germans, Italians and Japanese replaced the Indians as major villains." (1973:170)⁴

In their book, The Pretend Indians, Bataille and Silet (1980) have assembled 25 articles dealing with various aspects of images and a briefly annotated checklist of books and articles that deal with "popular images of the Indian in the American Film". Their objective is to present a kind of state-of-the-art review, starting with a look at the pre-film context that influenced the early silent films through to the current film mythology and images.

The editors are both members of the Department of English at Iowa State University. The disciplines of the authors of the articles vary, but they are mainly from the humanities and arts. The book does not present research findings systematically. Its value lies in the range of factors affecting or involved in the images of Indians projected by Hollywood, which are discussed from the broad

cultural base for stereotypes in general to specific projections of negative images of Indians.

The major objective of Berton's study (1975) of Hollywood images of Canadians is to analyse the content, explore the distortions and deplore their effect. Included within that objective is a discussion of the images projected of the Canadian Indian and Métis.⁵ The methods used range from archival research to systematic film viewing.

Berton concludes that Hollywood's Canadian Indian differs only in geographical label from his American counterpart. For example, Blackfoot (Canada) customs are portrayed as mythical Apache (U.S.), and wagon trains surrounded by whooping "savages" on the Oregon trail are transferred to southern Saskatchewan. Historical and ethnographic inaccuracies proliferate (totem poles of uncertain ancestry sprout in Quebec; feathers, pigtailed and buckskin leggings are ubiquitous).

Berton is particularly incensed by his findings concerning Hollywood's image of the Canadian Métis, which he characterizes as "unrelenting libel". Always and derogatively referred to as "half-breeds", they are "depicted as villains of the deepest dye, sneaky, untrustworthy degenerates ..." and so on in like vein.

(1975:87) Both Berton and the Friars (1972) note that the 'half-breed', irrespective of ethnic or racial ancestry, is one of Hollywood's stock 'bad guys', transposed from nineteenth-century dime novels and somehow to be condemned as living proof of the sin of miscegenation.

Skinner, in his 1979 case study of a silent film set in northern Ontario and featuring an Indian hero, finds that even the more documentary non-Hollywood portraits were often "largely a mixture of anthropological and literary wish-fulfilment." (1979:159) Adherence to historical fact yields to the pull of popular appeal, and the self-styled Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance performs well as "a mighty Ojibway hunter" who rescues his people from the silent enemy -- famine.

If there is not very much Canadian research on the image of Indians in movies, even less research is available on their image on television. One recently released study, conducted at the University of Winnipeg by Granzberg and colleagues (1983 and 1984) for the Secretary of State Department, looks at the TV portrayal of visible minorities (Native people,⁶ Blacks and Asians). The image, explored in the context of a multiculturalism policy, is that presented during prime time on CBC, CTV and CBS as seen in Winnipeg during the winter of 1982. The main purpose of the

research was to replicate a U.S. study and adopt its methodology with a view to providing "a consistent ... framework by which the minority content of Canadian television could be monitored and gauged as to its achievement of multicultural sensibilities." (1983:2)

The methodology, a sophisticated type of content analysis, was adapted by Granzberg for use in Canada from techniques developed at the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania. It is important. Objective analysis of images of Indians -- or any other minority groups -- projected by an industry that specializes mainly in popular appeal images is difficult at best. While by no means perfect, this method provides the researcher with an objective way of analysing the TV image of Indians with respect to degrees of discrimination, types of stereotyping and degree of traditionalism through the use of three Multicultural Sensitivity Indexes.⁷

It also permits the image of Indians to be situated in context. What images of other minorities are projected by TV? Is it only the Indian whose image is negative and distorted, or is this also true for other minority groups?

The major findings indicated that members of all three 'visible' minority groups are subject to discrimination,

with an overall participation (in prime-time TV) rate of 72 per cent, and to both general stereotyping (for example, portraying them as ignorant, lazy, leading romanticized lives), and specific stereotyping, with artist and shaman as the most frequent image of the Indian on CBC and as warrior on CTV. Of the networks studied, CBC presents the most positive image of Native people. Overall, TV displayed "the most sensitivity in its portrayals of Natives, next most in its portrayals of Asians and least in its portrayals of Blacks." (1983:35)

In summary, the research indicates a stereotyped image of the Indian in film and on TV. The markedly negative image of the pre-World War II film is disappearing, and a re-romanticization seems to be occurring. TV, largely a post-war phenomenon escaping the early excesses of the film industry, nonetheless tends toward stereotypic images of Indians and other visible minorities.

SECTION 9

Images of Indians in Sociological and Other Studies

In this Section, several sociological studies are reviewed. These are generally concerned with "ethnic stratification", "prestige/social class" ranking of ethnic groups, or the social standing of various groups in Canadian society. Several sociological studies have included Indians as one of the ethnic or minority groups to be ranked by respondents. Various methods have been used to get at societal stratifications or to assess the social/prestige standing of a group. All assume a relationship, not necessarily causal, between society's prevailing image of an ethnic or minority group and the way in which that group is ranked in terms of prestige or social standing. While the image of Indians is at best secondary, and sometimes very peripheral, to the objective of these studies, they present another dimension of the prevailing image.¹

Goldstein's study (1978) uses "an indirect approach, in which university students judged the social standing of surnames representing 13 ethnic groups ... to measure ethnic prestige." (1978:84) The name "Running Fox", as a stand-in for Native Indians as an ethnic group,² is placed at the bottom of the prestige ratings. This ranking of ethnic

prestige was found to correlate closely with socio-economic rankings of the 13 ethnic groups, based on the Blishen Occupational Index.

Labovitz (1974), in an earlier exercise in technique testing, reports on a study conducted in Calgary. Here names are used as stand-ins for three ethnic groups, with "English Canadians" being subdivided into male and female. These four names were substituted for those of the real authors of a short extract from a professional paper, and each respondent was asked to rate only one name. The surrogate for "Canadian Indian" was the name "Joseph Walking Bear". Predictably, the two English Canadian names were ranked (male first, female second) higher than the names of the Canadian Indian and the French Canadian (third and fourth respectively).³

Hirabayashi (1963) reports on his study of the place of the Métis in Alberta society as measured by the Bogardus Social Distance Scale.⁴ Edmonton and the Lesser Slave Lake area were the locations from which five samples were drawn. University and high school students in Edmonton were asked to rank about 20 (the number varies slightly) groups. With the exception of Russians and Hutterites, those ethnic groups ranking toward the bottom of the scale were the "visible minorities", including Indians (Canadian), Eskimos, and Métis.

Three samples were drawn from three high schools in the Lesser Slave Lake area chosen to represent three ethnic groups: Indians, Métis and Whites. Hirabayashi notes the similarity of rankings by these students with those of their counterparts in Edmonton, "with the singular exception of ranking the three aboriginal groups much higher." (1963:369)

Dreidger and Mezoff (1981) examined the extent of ethnic prejudice among high school students in Winnipeg and discussed the discrepancy between "accepted" norms and actual behaviour. One of their concerns was to measure the "differential treatment" accorded 11 European origin groups and 9 non-European groups (including Indians and Eskimos), using the Bogardus Social Distance Scale. Their article indicated only that Indians and Eskimos, together with most of the non-European groups, are perceived as being more socially distant and less desirable as marriage partners.

Pineo in his article (1977) attempted to demonstrate that respondents were able to rank the social standing of various "ethnic and racial" groups without using the Bogardus Social Distance Scale. Three hundred and ninety-three respondents were provided with a list of 36 groups (including "Canadian Indians") and asked to place them in order of social standing "the way you think people actually treat these groups." (1977:187) The findings that

concern us here as having implications for images of Indians are, briefly stated, that Indians were ranked along with the four other "non-Caucasian groups" at the bottom of the social standing ladder.

Darroch (1980) looked at images of Indians almost incidentally in analysing the extent to which ethnic origin influences social or class standing in the vertical mosaic of Canada. He notes that, on an Index of Occupational Dissimilarity,⁵ Indians and Eskimos ranked as most dissimilar. He also observes that the gap between Indians and other Canadians, as measured by the 1971 Census-based Index compared with those for 1931, 1951 and 1961, is lessening markedly.

In an article based on her dissertation, Mackie (1974) examined the "accuracy of the folk knowledge concerning Alberta Indians, Hutterites and Ukrainians" and the relationship of stereotypes to factual situations.⁶ She found that "the perception of the Indians ... is an overwhelmingly negative image of an ostracized group that neither shares the work or success values of the surrounding society nor receives its material rewards." (1974:236) Volunteered statements made in response to open-ended questions noted such aspects as Indians' poverty, "low level of education and rejection by outsiders".

Those with a particular interest may wish to note that there is a special issue of Recherches amérindiennes au Québec, (1981, XI/4) devoted to "Portraits d'indiens". In the main, the 11 articles in this issue deal with images in the visual arts (painting, illustrations or "arts plastiques"); only one article deals with portrayals of Inuit (Quinn, 1981).

Three articles deal with visual images of Indians in a European context. Gagnon (1981) traces the origins of the curious European approach of illustrating "l'homme sauvage" as a person without neck or head. Martijn (1981b) concludes that the figures depicted on a Dieppe church frieze are probably portraits of Brazilian rather than North American Indians. Moreau (1981) analyses the representations of Amerindians in the work of the great French cartoonist, Goscinny (the creator of Astérix).

Sturtevant (1981) looks at the cartographic portrayal of Amerindian canoes and pirogues in early map decoration. Labelle and Thivierge (1981) and Sioui (1981b) discuss the work of the Indian artist, Zacharie Vincent, and Swinton (1981) looks at the portrayal of Whites in Haida art. Martijn (1981a) discusses the stylized Beothuk on Newfoundland's coat of arms and Sioui (1981a) analyses Indian portraits occurring in the "Codex canadiensis".

There are a number of works that tend to impute attitudes and intentions to Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and to administrators, missionaries and others involved in the affairs of Indians. I have judged that most of these are not research as defined here, being rather more polemic than objective. One that appears relevant is not. Chamberlin (1975) subtitles his book "White Attitudes Toward North American Natives". It is, however, more concerned with what the author believes to be the attitudes and ideologies of the policy-makers and of those who carry out policies. It is not a study of popular attitudes toward or images of Indians.

In this Section, a number of studies that did not seem to fit elsewhere have been mentioned. It should also be noted that no systematic attempt to cover theses and dissertations was possible within the scope of this study. Those theses that were noted in passing are listed at the end of the bibliography.

SECTION 10

Conclusions

In the foregoing Sections, research on non-Indians' images of Indians in a variety of studies, disciplines and subjects has been reviewed. The image found by the research is, on balance, negative, irrespective of the discipline or methodological approach to researching it.

And the negative image pertains both to the Indian and to his society and culture. It is, however, a dual image -- sometimes ambivalent, sometimes contradictory. The Indian is both noble and savage, whatever those adjectives may mean. As well, Indians are viewed as somehow symbolic of Canada, in part perhaps in recognition of their aboriginal status, in part perhaps as a reminder of, or even a search for, an 'heroic' past.

Taken as a whole, the stereotypic Indian is 'different', a being outside the ordinary daily lives of non-Indians, having less than desirable habits and values, and unimportant except as a symbol of a part of Canadian heritage. Furthermore, this negative image of Indians that Canadians have absorbed has been reinforced because it has come from a number of sources. Some of these sources are

normally associated with image-making industries such as movies; others are from duly authorized and approved school textbooks. The fact that this negative image also afflicts other visible minorities is neither justification nor comfort to the denigrated.

But this image is changing. The fact comes across most clearly in research that examines images in history, textbooks and movies. Walker (1983) notes the remarkable increase in research attention to Indians, their role in Canadian society and their history and culture in the 1970-1980 decade. More recently written historical texts are presenting a less negative image.

This change is also being reflected at the primary and secondary school levels in social studies textbooks. It appears that the change is becoming even more apparent in some supplementary material. Although it is not research, mention should be made here of Williams' pamphlet (1983) as a delightful example of what can be done to depict ordinary scenes of daily life in which Indians are doing the living.¹

The image of Indians being projected by the motion picture industry is changing. While still a stereotyped image, it is now a more positive, possibly re-romanticized

one. Perhaps a brief look at the context in which this change is occurring is in order.

Since World War II, an emphasis on human rights has developed. All provinces now have human rights commissions, and discrimination on the grounds of 'race' is prohibited, with constitutional backup. Other factors affecting this change include notions of 'participatory democracy' and federal funding support to Native peoples' associations.² Obviously, no one should be expecting the imminent arrival of the era of sweetness and light and justice for all. Such changes as are occurring are slow, but the direction appears to be a positive one.

SECTION 11

Part A: Endnotes

Introduction

1. Images of Inuit held by non-Inuit Canadians have been excluded from this study because of an apparent major difference in image. The historical interaction of Inuit and Whites has been in a different context and continues to be so.
2. For an interesting and provocative analysis of "l'Amérindianisme au Québec", see Bouchard (1979). Bouchard is an anthropologist and Director of ssDcc in Montreal.

Section 2: Images of Indians in Small Communities

1. The studies reviewed in this section tend to use a community consensus definition that Indians are persons perceived by themselves and others to be Indians.
2. Braroe, a sociologist, gives the details of this theoretical approach in his book. (1975)
3. Mailhot's anthropological study is one of several produced as part of the Mackenzie Delta Research Project carried out in the early 1960s by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre (NCRC) of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (NANR), now INAC. Other similar studies of small isolated northern communities were carried out by NCRC. (Canada, NANR, 1966)
4. See Note 1.
5. Hall, an anthropologist, uses both "Native" and "Indian" to refer to persons of Amerindian ancestry. See also Note 1.
6. Stymeist is a professor of anthropology at the University of Manitoba.

Section 3: Images of Indians in Public Opinion Surveys and Studies of Attitudes

1. In this Section, the definition of 'Indian' is a perceptual one: whoever is perceived by the respondent to be a Native person, a Canadian Indian (the adjective is used to prevent confusion with Indians from India, East Indians and West Indians). Variations in individual studies are noted in the text.
2. Yukon and the Northwest Territories were excluded from the study, as were Indian reserves and some of the more isolated northern parts of provinces. A list of actual interview locations is included in Gibbins and Ponting (1978a). All the papers, articles, etc., reporting on this study describe the methodology used in greater or lesser detail.
3. In the various reports of the study findings (see Gibbins and Ponting, 1976, 1978a, 1978b and 1978c; and Ponting and Gibbins, 1981a, 1981b and 1980), several terms more or less equivalent to 'images' are used: attitudes, opinions, orientations, perceptions, public opinion and views. The term 'stereotype' is not used. (Ponting and Gibbins, 1980:76)
4. The writer has used Ponting and Gibbins, 1980, as the main reference here because it is a good summary discussion of their study.
5. CROP is the acronym for Centre de recherche sur l'opinion publique.
6. In this study, too, the sampling base excluded Yukon, the NWT, Indian reserves and the more northerly, isolated parts of some provinces.
7. Both the methodology and the conceptualization used in this study are complex, varied, and sophisticated. Readers wishing to become familiar with these aspects of the study are referred to Berry et al. For specific reference to attitudes toward ethnic groups, see Chapter 5. (1977:91-129)
8. Readers interested in how Filson, a sociologist in Toronto, conceptualized and measured "social class" are referred to his article.
9. While a 15-per cent response rate on a mailed questionnaire, addressed to 'occupant', is an

above-average response rate, for this and other methodological reasons, the results, as the NCC cautions, should be regarded as suggestive rather than definitive.

10. One of the main points in doing the survey was to determine to what extent the public was aware of policy positions taken by the NCC. Not all of the questions can be considered reflections of attitudes toward Native peoples.
11. There were 2 research teams: 4 interviewers (3 Native people and 1 non-Native) in the west and 3 (1 Native person and 2 non-Native) in central and eastern Canada. The cities covered are, in the main, provincial and territorial capitals.
12. Gascon is assistant curator of travelling exhibitions (Conservatrice-adjointe aux expositions itinérantes) at the Museum of Contemporary Art (Musée d'art contemporain).
13. Semiotogenesis is a complex and somewhat controversial approach to the study of images and meaning. The reader interested in this approach may write to Professor Pierre Maranda (in French or English), Department of Anthropology, Laval University, Quebec, P.Q., G1K 7P4, or consult issues of the journal, Recherches Sémiotiques/Semiotic Inquiry.
14. Normand is currently working on her graduate degree at Laval University in the Department of Anthropology.
15. Normand cautions against generalizing from these findings to other north/south situations because of the small sample size.
16. Three theses dealing with children's attitudes were noted: Anderson (1969), Hubert (1969), and McVicar (1973).

Section 4: Images of Indians in History

1. As used in this Section, 'Indian' is a generic term inclusive of all tribes and persons of some degree of aboriginal ancestry. It should be noted that historians in specific cases are considerably more precise. Dickason, Jaenen, Smith, Fisher, Walker, and

Surtees are at the Universities of Alberta, Ottawa, Calgary, Simon Fraser, Waterloo and Nipissing respectively.

2. My apologies to those historians omitted here. The choice of the works to include was a personal one, based among other things on convenience and major focus. It does not relate to the scholarly or other worth of omitted works that have discussed non-Indians' images of Indians as an aspect of Indian/non-Indian relations or in other contexts. One dissertation (Cauthers, 1974) was noted in passing.
3. All the historical researchers included here use a straightforward historical methodology, including, when applicable, archival records, primary source documents and secondary sources. Individual methodological approaches, therefore, will not be mentioned unless something needs to be added.
4. See also Gagnon (1981) and Sturtevant (1981), mentioned in Section 9.
5. Jaenen also discusses different aspects of this subject in two other articles. (1980 and 1983)
6. Smith (1979) is the French version of Smith (1974).
7. Smith defines "French Canadians" as Canadian-born francophones, thus excluding a number of "important French historians". He also notes that the term "le Sauvage", while literally translatable as "the savage", is translated by "native people" or "Indian" to avoid the current pejorative connotations of "savage" in English.
8. Specifically, Steinfeld looks at NWMP attitudes toward Blackfoot, Blood, Sioux (whose image is tarnished by an overlay of anti-Americanism), Piegan, Cree and Assiniboine.
9. Walker does not include francophone Canadian history texts in this essay, noting that "since 1971 there have been too few French language studies to justify generalizations, since most Quebec historians have been concentrating on examinations of intimate aspects of French Canadian history or have dealt with the more recent period when the Indian presence has been deemed less significant." (1983:352)

Section 5: Images of Indians in Literature and Magazines

1. It may well be that coverage of current research in this Section is less complete than some others. Literature as a field of study is well outside my expertise in any language. Because of the focus of the study, no systematic search has been made of professional journals dealing with either 'Canlit' or 'la littérature québécoise'.
2. As might be expected, the studies reviewed in this Section do not include precise definitions: 'The Indian' is whomsoever a literary writer had in his or her mind's eye when putting pen to paper and producing the label, Indian, Red man, etc.
3. Mowat and Mowat's book (1975) has been called to my attention, and indeed its title indicates a relevance here. It is, however, an edited anthology of writings by or about Indians assembled to counteract "deep-seated prejudices against Indians", written to combat negative images, rather than to describe them. (1975:1)
4. Until about 1960, at least until post-World War II, there were just not enough Canadian-published magazines around to provide a representation of what Canadians were reading about "their" Indians.

Section 6: Images of Indians in Newspapers

1. The definition of Indian or Native used in these studies obviously reflects the unspecified notion in the head of the journalist or writer of letters to the editor. Selection of items for inclusion in the studies is based on key words. Singer (sociologist, University of Western Ontario) mentions Indian, Eskimo, Inuit and such "usual indicators" as tribe, Métis, chief. (1982) Sim and Vogan (sociologists by training) include all items in which the word "Indian" appears or "Native" when this refers to Indians. Métis were excluded because INAC's clipping service is instructed to select items dealing with "Indians", in keeping with INAC's focus on registered or status Indians. (1978, 1979) Hatt (sociologist, Carleton University) includes letters to the editor containing such words as Indian, Métis, natives. (1976) The anthropologist Vincent's coverage includes mention of the words Indiens, Amérindiens, Montagnais, Micmac, Cris, autochtones, and Inuit. (1979)

2. Persons interested in the methodology are referred to the discussions in both Sim (1978) and Vogan (1979). It might be noted that content analysis as a methodology has its supporters and its critics. The effect on the findings of the use of clippings culled from newspapers by INAC's press service is perhaps not completely clear.
3. The four dailies were La Presse, Le Soleil, Montréal-Matin and Journal de Montréal; the magazine was Québec Chasse et Pêche.
4. The method of analysis in this study is based on that developed and used in Vincent and Arcand. (1979)

Section 7: Images of Indians in School Texts

1. 'Social Studies' as a curriculum category appears to cover history, geography, civics, world politics, and related areas. 'Indian' as used in the research discussed in this Section refers rather globally to Indians, Native people, Métis, North American Indians, and Amerindians. Where more specific definitions are given by the researcher, they will be noted.
2. The methodology used in this study appears to have been a subjective judgement based on the degree to which these texts cover three topics: original culture of Canadian Indians; history of culture contact between Indian and White; and the situation of the Indians today. (Vanderburgh, 1969:2)
3. Lupul is professor, history of Canadian education, Department of Educational Foundations, University of Alberta, and his methodology appears to be the traditional historical review.
4. The interested reader should refer to McDiarmid and Pratt (1971) for details. It is a detailed and noteworthy attempt at an objective content analysis approach based on two main techniques. In brief (and oversimplified), the first technique is the Evaluation Assertion Rating System (EARS), which permits scoring the evaluative statements made about a minority group using a list of 300-odd "evaluative terms" (mainly adjectives), coded according to six weights (+1.9, +1.5, ... -1.9), in terms of the degree to which they are deemed positive/favourable or negative/unfavourable. A modification simplifying the complexity of EARS scoring is ECO (Evaluative

Coefficient Analysis), which uses only the direction of the evaluative term, that is, whether positive or negative, in scoring assertions. The second technique, which was developed to try to determine biases or errors of omission, is the issue-protocol rating. This technique consists of determining issues considered to be important and devising "protocols" or standard statements that can be used as yardsticks for measuring whether the treatment of an issue in a given text is adequate or not. This method for analysing images and issues was used, at least in part, by the SHRC's study (1974), MIB's study (1974), and Ofner (1982).

5. In the study 'Indians' were defined to include: Indians, Natives (when not Eskimo), Cree, Huron, Iroquois, etc., Indian Chiefs (e.g., Brant, Tecumseh), Aztec, Incas, Métis, Savages (when Indian is clearly meant). (SHRC, 1974:13)
6. The methodology used is clearly explained in the text. The researchers also took the unusual and noteworthy approach of setting out their assumptions and rationale at the beginning of the report. For discussion of the method, see also Note 4 above.
7. For a description of ECO as a technique, see Note 4. In adapting this technique for this study, the MIB research team added to the criteria for rating images and issues. It is not clear that the additions improved the methodology. The study had been planned to examine textbooks and course material for grades 4 and 5 as well, but it was found that those texts contained too little material to be worth analysing in detail.
8. For a brief account of methodology, see Note 4 above. Based on Vogel's (1968) categorization of four principal ways in which historians have created and perpetuated stereotyped images of Indians, Ofner developed the following adaptation: (a) obliteration manifest by ignoring Indians; (b) defamation indicated by calling attention only to faults; (c) disparagement expressed by denial of Indian contributions to Canadian culture; and (d) disembodiment manifest by casual and depersonalized talk of the Indian as menace or block to progress. (1982:35-36) She used this as well as ECO to determine the changes that have taken place.

9. Three other theses were noted: Fowler (1971), Hammersmith (1971) and Williamson (1969). It would be fair to assume: (a) that there are more theses and dissertations extant, and (b) that the findings with respect to the images of Indians will be consistent with those discussed here.
10. The interested reader is referred to Vincent and Arcand (1979) for methodological details. The authors note the foundations of their approach in structural anthropology and in semiology. It should be noted that Arcand is professor of Anthropology at Laval University and Vincent is currently a research associate with ssDcc in Montreal.
11. Two other themes are discussed that reflect more on the images of others than on those of Indians. The theme of the "Anglo-Saxon" and American as "bad" colonizers, taking a genocide approach, and the French as "good" colonizers, seeking to integrate the Indian, is covered in Chapter 8. (1979:197-234) The theme of Indian territorial land rights and modes of dealing with them follows in Chapter 9. (1979:235-258)
12. The reader is again referred to the report of Decore et al. (1981) for details. The authors refer to their approach as an holistic one, taking into account the context in which the reviewer judges the material with reference to set general criteria. (1981:9-10)

Section 8: Images of Indians in Movies and Television

1. Throughout this Section, unless otherwise indicated, 'Indian', 'Native American' or 'Native' are not specifically defined by the authors. They would be hard put to do so as movie and TV programs generally use a subjective, individualistic definition.
2. The manner in which the authors went about gathering their data (that is, their research methodology) is not made explicit. R. Friar is a writer, actor, film director, and N. Friar a writer and film buff.
3. The Friars contend that: "The beaded headband is purely a Hollywood invention so commonly associated with the Indian that even Native Americans must now wear it." (1980:95)
4. The methodology is not specified.

5. See particularly Berton (1975) pages 5-72, 86-108, and 161-166.
6. The study's questionnaire indicates that "Indian" is intended to be North (not Central or South) American Indian, and a TV character is identified as Indian if he/she is "intended to be perceived as North American Indian". Further, "racially Indian actors who, according to the plot or script, do not portray North American Indians are not to be coded as North American Indians. Inuit (Eskimo), for our purposes, are to be coded as North American Indians." (1983:62)
7. For details concerning this methodology, the interested researcher may get in touch with Professor Gary Granzberg, Department of Anthropology, University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 2E9.

Section 9: Images of Indians in Sociological and Other Studies

1. These studies, with the exception of Hirabayashi (1963), are primarily sociological exercises in conceptualization or testing of methodological approaches. Goldstein, Hirabayashi, Dreidger, Pineo, Darroch, and Mackie are at the Universities of Manitoba, Alberta, Manitoba, McMaster, York and Calgary respectively.
2. The designation in these studies of "Indians" as an "ethnic group" may theoretically be questionable. This writer has argued elsewhere that the generally accepted concept of "ethnic group" is more properly applied to Amerindian groups based on tribal affiliations, such as Nishga, Cree or Micmac. However, this is not the way Canadians in general tend to perceive Indians. Their image is much more diffuse and blurry. And what is being measured in these studies is based on prevailing images.
3. This study seems to me to have more than its share of methodological weaknesses.
4. This technique for measuring social distance ranges from a high degree of intimacy/low social distance (okay to marry a member of the group) to the other extreme of "would debar from my nation".

5. The Index of Occupational Dissimilarity is derived from Census data and compiled by comparing the occupational distribution of a given ethnic group with that of the total labour force.
6. The reader is referred to Mackie's article for her methodology.

Section 10: Conclusions

1. In the April 1984 issue of Saturday Night (99/4:7-10), Robert Fulford comments on the improvements occurring with respect to the images of Indians in school textbooks. He also cautions that laudable attempts at codifying tolerance, at least in Ontario, may create, on occasion, a tendency to over-accentuate the positive.
2. The report of the Special Committee on Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society was tabled in the House of Commons on March 28, 1984. (Equality Now. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1984). Various Native Indian associations and organizations made submissions to the Committee, and a number of individual Indians appeared before it as witnesses. As well, several of the recommendations made by the Special Committee deal with the Indian and Native issues.

SECTION 11

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